/627 cont./

594 must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important posi- [562] tion of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of 861 every individual family, apart from any purely natural compul- 881 sion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

571 Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no [565] hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single [622] head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

671 There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social ● 621 division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

582 /653/ by Bridges (a):213 is significant: "Generally speaking marriages with near kin are held in high abhorrence" /cited in English/; also another by him (in [k]:234): "Marriage is never contracted within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by natural law. For example, first cousins to the second degree would not marry each other" /translated from Spanish/ (31). Thus many

31. In another place Bridges (h):205 repeats: "They never marry a consanguineous relative, however distant. The idea of marrying a first or second cousin would be absolutely abominable to them" /translated from Spanish/.

versions indicate that, according to the general opinion, all degrees of relationship, even beyond that of cousins, absolutely exclude marriage.

582 ●621 If we consider the conditions of life of our Yamana, we realize that with this custom there exists a sort of local exogamy, for it is the near relatives who scour a certain area for food and regard it as their true home. To marry within this circumscribed family group is forbidden by the bonds of kinship which link them all together, near or far. Since the only obligation is to marry outside this degree of kinship which coincides with district boundaries, local exogamy thus follows as a matter of course. It takes definite form when a whale is stranded and families gather from far and wide to enjoy for several days the bountiful gift of Mother Nature. The marriageable young people, who perhaps have never seen each other before, become acquainted and draw closer together until sooner or later marriage unites them. It is the rule that every eligible young man looks for a partner outside his own family group. BD:305 gives masëa-pŏn-apai, "two persons within the limits which forbid marriage who marry, to be thus married; to marry together as cousins to each other" /cited in English/. It is difficult for young people who live far apart to marry because of their natural affection for their parents (32).

32. Bridges (i):21 has already given the reason for this reluctance: "Marriage with very distant clans was infrequent

/653 cont./

582 621 from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

582 587 597 Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. 582 587 Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

/777 cont./

C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (ℓ):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ëkë^{x}], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/800 cont./

621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation kaiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:865 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakīpajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakīpa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

/905 cont./

X881 182 arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original strictness and the serious spirit of the ʏiɛ̈xaus celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1920. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Santiago, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the ʏiɛ̈xaus gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/906/ a. General Regulations

X881 88 It is well known that every Yamana who has twice gone through the ʏiɛ̈xaus ceremony as ufwʏala may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

X881 621 Inasmuch as the ʏiɛ̈xaus is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

/906 cont./

X881 621 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the čiéxaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the čiéxaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the čiéxaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 805 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 788 Throughout the weeks of the čiéxaus a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uŝwíala who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted [252] by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 621 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives related apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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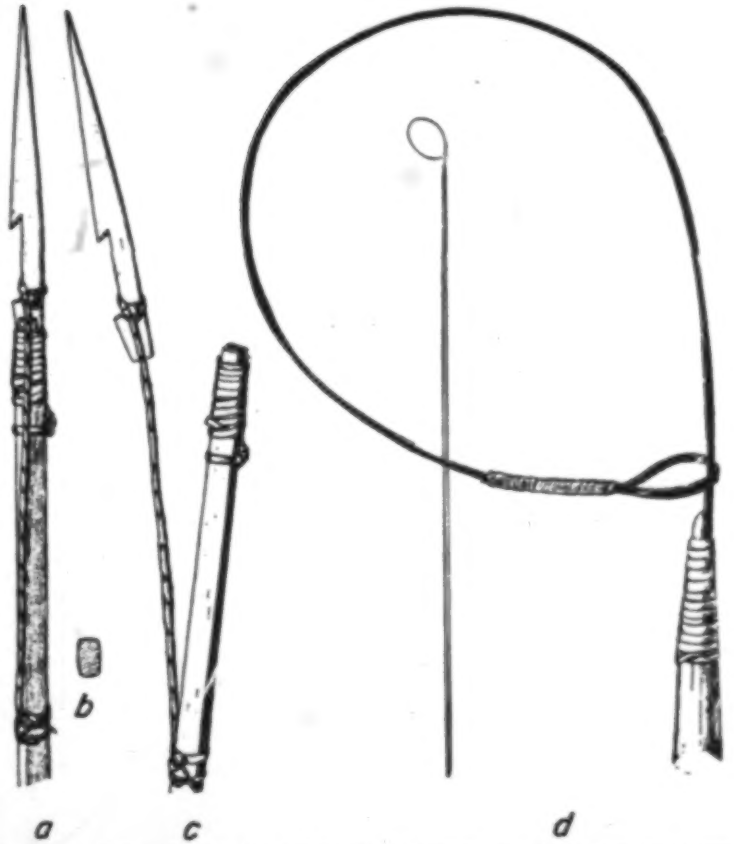

FIGURE 11.—Yahgan harpoon and pole snare. *a*, Harpoon assembled for casting; *b*, cross section of harpoon shaft; *c*, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); *d*, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 82, 87.)

361 621 divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342 The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 33, *b*). The conical hut, more fre-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a soversign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
585 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function
[881] was that of holding the *čiéxaus* initiation rite. The leader chosen therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *čiéxaus* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[882] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,